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[For information on the gender classification of terms for various phenomena of the external world and the human organism, see Category 193, pp. 18-21.]

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[For Blackfoot terms designating phenomena concerning the external world and the human organism, and for Blackfoot terms designating tribes, bands, and other sociopolitical units, see Category 192.]

593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elabor-
ate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child
than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his
adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a trau-
593 matic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the
universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct refer-
ence to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were
supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual,
generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from
their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an
informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures
of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because
they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from
their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the
importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege
of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[859] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters
were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
[591] bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the
first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
586 the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Further-
more, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with
her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remar-
riage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care
for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in
making important decisions.

000 belonged; this will be discussed later.

824 [783] One might ask why plants served as the means of purification. Why not an animal or its derivative? Why not simply some sort of gesture?

827 224 As the accounts quoted above clearly indicate, the sign of man's limitation was his scent. This was in keeping with a culture based on the hunt. Odor was of paramount importance: it was always the part of a man that traveled ahead of his presence, alerting the animals and determining in large part his success in supplying the necessities of life. (Hellson [171] has seen Cree bundles, created especially for the hunt, that contained the scent glands of particular animals and allowed the used to virtually walk right up to his prey.) Man's scent---so real in its immediate effects and at the same time so intangible, pervading the earth in all directions and moving without his control----was the perfect symbol of the relationship between the mortal and immortal realms. It followed that in order to transcend his finite nature and walk into the supernatural world, where he might gain help, he had first to lose his scent.

824 Now, it was recognized that plants were alive, just like animals. Seeds were planted in the Tobacco Planting ceremony; the generations were recognized; and sexual terms were applied to the parts of plants. Plants had odors, like men and animals. But they did not behave like animals. There were no accounts of plants talking to men. Plants did not have a social structure, as animals did. They did not react like animals. They were alive, and yet they exhibited a large number of inanimate traits.

If we combine the animate and inanimate traits, we find that plants were the ideal mediators between man and the supernatural realm. This was especially true of their ability to replace man's foul scent with their own and so symbolically release him from mortal bonds.

541 824 777 pressed onto the stems. Horses so cursed were sure to slacken in the race.

Another method made use of a quirt (or a rod). The sau-gas-sim was placed in the mouth, and the rider sprayed the quirt with the juice. This quirt was not used to whip the horse. When the race began, the rider would try to get on the right side of the other horses; he carried the magic quirt but whipped his horse with a regular one. At an opportune time the rider threw back the sprayed quirt, causing the other horses to fall behind.

Sometimes a man used a small, flat stone that had been sprayed with the root. When no one was looking it was thrown at the competing horse. That horse would trip, probably break a leg, and die; and its owner would be sick for days.

524 526 824 777 For use in the hand game, the root was kept in the mouth. This would make the other players lazy, and they would lose continually. But if a man was suspected of using the power root, there was a defense against its [825] influence. The loser went to his lodge (or to one nearby) and asked for a small piece of meat, which he combined with sage leaves. Carrying this charm in his pocket, he returned to the gambling place, where he walked abruptly among the participants and took the dice in his hands. Then he pretended to sing and perform with the dice---all the while secretly rubbing [827] them with the meat-and-sage mixture. After he handed back the dice the man who had been using the sau-gas-sim would get a headache and grow lazy, losing all he had won.

824 777 [782] [695] The power root was used by ceremonialists to bless others with long life and good luck. Vows were made with sau-gas-sim, ceremony called for spitting on the hands and touching the head, shoulders, chest and hips: that insured the validity of whatever was said thereafter.

000 We have been told that the power root was once included in the rites of

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part of the body.

Veratrum viride

An infusion of the plant was taken for indigestion. As with the hawthorn (Crataegus chrysocarpa), the person would ask the plant "not to bite him" (cause stomach cramps) and promised to return the favor with a gift.

PLANTS IN THE TREATMENT OF URINARY AND VENEREAL DISORDERS

Abies lasiocarpa

A smudge of the needles was used to fumigate those whose faces were swollen from a form of venereal disease.

Achillea millefolium

[827]

A tea of the plant was taken as a diuretic in the belief that the sickness would pass with the urine. The infusion was also rubbed on the affected part.

Allium spp.

A disease which causes a swollen penis and severe constipation was treated by drinking an infusion of the bulb.

Castilleja spp.

The plant was mixed with warm water which was taken as a diuretic. Women who were bleeding from their vaginas (not menses) drank large quantities of the infusion of the plant and rubbed it on their abdomens.

Equisetum arvense

A powerful diuretic was made by infusing the root of the fertile stems. The brew was also rubbed on the groin. No one would disturb the place where the sickness was urinated for fear of becoming diseased.

Hierchloe odorata

Men would drink a sweetgrass tea to treat venereal infections.

524 in their pods. Then the leader would suddenly stop and look behind him
824 while the others dropped to the ground. The leader struck whoever remained
[278] standing with a smoking stick which he carried. Then he took some of the
[752] seeds of the plant, chewed them and applied the mixture to the burn.
Shortly the irritation stopped and the game continued with changing leaders.

824 Peridridia gairdneri

● [827] The plant was rubbed on arrows for shine and waterproofing. Buffalo runners chewed the roots to extend their endurance.

Phlox hoodii

[386] Apparently, a dye was obtained from this plant in the way as Evernia.

Pinus spp.

773 The origin of coniferous forests was told in the story of the woman who
824 married a snake and later pursued her brothers who had killed the snake-being. While the boys were fleeing southward, one of them threw a porcupine tail which magically created a forest that sprang up as a barrier to the woman's detached head which rolled in hot pursuit. The woman had the special power of seeing through anything and soon spotted the boys on the other side of the forest. Meanwhile they prayed for the trees to have children and so replenish the barrier between them and certain death at the hands of the woman. The story continues with the creation of the mountains, etc.

824 Five variations of conifer were distinguished: "curly pine" (from the lichen growths on the branches of Pinus contorta), "mean pine" (also "sweet pine", Abies lasiocarpa), "tomato scent pine" (Thuja spp.), "red pine" (Pseudotsuga menziesii?), and "cedar pine" (Juniperus spp.?).

000 Travois and tipi poles were made from Pinus contorta while the young

Enough of his own teeth remained to allow him to chew his favorite food—meat. He would have been content with a diet of meat and bread, and lots of water that he claimed helped stimulate digestion. Though he liked fruits and desserts, he was not overly fond of vegetables. Like most of our Old People of the long-ago, he did not eat fish, because they belong to the Underwater Spirits. Around his neck was his customary black scarf; his feet were covered with moccasins. He was wearing his special dress moccasins with a blue-and-white geometric design beaded on them. One of his canes was plain, while the other was carved and vividly decorated with paint.

When he finally spoke, he asked if we knew the story of how things were in the beginning of the world. Of course we had read several versions of the traditional creation myth told among our People, but we didn't know his version and were anxious to hear it. He lapsed into silence, sorting out the story in his mind. We sat quietly so that he would not get the feeling we were impatient.

Although the heat of the afternoon was becoming very noticeable, the brightness of the outdoors was greatly subdued by the yellow coating of paint and the black silhouettes of the eight otters that circled the outside of our lodge.

The Old Man's voice began in a commanding tone:

HOW THE EARTH WAS MADE AND PEOPLE ORIGINATED

Oki, the first ones here were a man named Sun, a woman named Earth Woman, and a Dog. These were the first three that inhabited Earth. So that makes four. The man did all the hunting. He always cut open whatever he got and then went home. The woman was given just a limited time to go and get what he cut open. The man put a thong in his mouth, soaked it, and then put it down. The woman had to bring the food home before the thong dried. They lived in abundance.

A, i.e., Wolf Old Man, a nonagenarian--Analyst]

[P. 16-B]

monial raising of sacred tobacco. After our People settled on the Blood Reserve, however, they soon learned to raise potatoes, turnips, carrots, and some other vegetables. Before that, vegetable foods had been used only for a change in diet, or as an addition to our Old People's basic diet of meat.

None of our People today were raised without such products as flour, tea, and sugar. But over the past fifty years their basic diets have changed tremendously, from natural meats and vegetables to commercial beef and many starches, fats, and sweets. According to the Old People, bodies were much stronger in the Old Days. The Old Man, as a doctor, had this view of the diet changes among our People:

When I was young I was taught that the good foods were meat and berries. My parents were just learning to raise a garden when I was born, so they didn't know much about the white man's vegetables. The meat we had came from animals that ate nothing but natural growths and water. Even our cattle lived just as though they were wild. Today our meat often comes from animals that are fed white man's invented foods, and they are given strange materials through injections with needles. Even their manure often does not smell natural. In the past, all the animals we ate just lived on grass and plants and water—all that was clean. We used to eat our meat with plenty of fat on it. That gave us the strength to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 181-B]
[p. 180-B]

live outdoors, especially when it was cold. Every morning we went swimming in water, even during the winter. If the water was frozen we rolled in the snow and covered ourselves with it. That made our bodies strong. An old relative of mine, Star Chief, often came with us kids to make sure there were no cowards. Our mothers followed behind and brought us our blankets. That old man always told me, "This is going to make your bodies good and strong and you will live to old age." And he was right. 827 [261]

Today, when the People take baths they just use warm water. The meat that we get tastes funny. When the People eat fat it just makes them fat, because they just sit around all day. That meat is flabby and our bodies don't have to work hard to make it go through, so we don't build up any strength. That's why our bodies get sick when we eat all those strange white man's foods, because they don't have to build up any strength to put them through. I don't doctor the People anymore because they have such strange illnesses. 827 178 [261] [262]

[A·181-B]

and bake them. She baked them. He pushed some hot thorns into my injured leg. I thought my leg was going to break! He put a long stick into the fire, and while it was burning he painted the thorns with sacred yellow paint and sacred black paint. Then he took the glowing red stick and heated the thorns, which burned right down to my skin. My leg felt like it was being held by something Powerful. I couldn't move it at all. The next day I was able to move my leg, but my father said, "Today we will have the treatment one more time." After the second treatment, the swelling went down and I was able to walk. I guess that was a form of what they call today acupuncture. 755 752

Oki, now let me tell you about some of the different things that grow. For instance, the "man-sage" [prairie sage] is used by men, the "woman-sage" [pasture sage] by women. 824

If a man has any kind of bad luck, he will use the prairie sage to cleanse the evil from his body. If a relative dies, a man will make incense with the prairie sage and rub it over himself to cleanse his body. They are pure growths from nature, so they can clean away unpure things. If a man is going to have a sweat lodge, he will sit on the man-sage and he will chew some. This will purify him. 824 783

Oki, there are all kinds of uses for this man-sage. When they went on war raids they would carry some leaves to chew on, so they wouldn't get out of breath. They chewed it for the same reason when swimming. If a man has smelly feet he will put some leaves in his moccasins to make the smell go away. He will boil some and wash his hair in it. If his nose is bleeding, he will chew it and put it in his nose to stop the blood. If he has body odor, he will put some under his arms and between his legs and the smell will go away. If he has the itch, he will boil some and put it on whatever place is itching. A man will put in a few leaves of man-sage in any kind of curing brew to purify it. In the Old Days, men put bunches of 824 [827] [515] [757] [515] [757] [783]

to many medicine mixtures because of its sacredness. Boiled in water, it made a hair wash; chewed, it would be applied to swellings. It looks much like other grasses, but can be distinguished by the reddish color near its base.

VIOLET (*Viola adunca*): Called "blue mouth," its leaves were chewed and used as a poultice; it could also be made into a brew for a child having difficulty breathing.

WESTERN MEADOW RUE (*Thalictrum occidentale*): This plant was named "Gros Ventre scent" because it was most commonly found in the country of that tribe. Used as a perfume, the leaves could also be powdered and placed in horses' noses to make them long-winded.

WESTERN WILD PARSLEY (*Lomatium simplex*): This is the "big turnip" that was used mostly as food. As a medicine, the root was chewed and placed as a poultice with a heated cloth on bloodshot eyes. This poultice also treated sores in the mouth and ears, as well as earaches and swollen ears. A brew was made from it for chest pains.

WHITLOW GRASS (*Draba verna*): Because the stem of this plant rises from a circle of small leaves, it is called "center grass." The roots of this plant were made into a bitter drink to bring on abortion.

WILD BERGAMOT (*Monarda fistulosa*): This plant is called "singly young man." The blossoms could be brewed to make an eyewash, or else both leaves and blossoms were brewed together for stomachaches.

WILLOW (*Salix*): The great variety of willows are generally called "what they bring," referring to their ceremonial use during the Medicine Lodge sweat baths. The deep roots of these bushes were cut into pieces and dried, and from that a brew was made for hemorrhage, difficult breathing, dandruff, and bloodshot eyes in people and horses. Boiled with kidney fat, the mixture was used as a

[p. 188-B]

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 cided to name the mountains rising so grandly from the shore of the east side of the lake. Said Grinnell: "That one next above Red Eagle Mountain will be Little Chief Mountain; that is the Pawnee name for their friend and my friend, Captain Frank North, leader of the Pawnee scouts in a number of fights with the Sioux." We then agreed that the next one south should be Almost-a-Dog Mountain, for a good Pikuni friend of ours who in his time had been a great warrior and leader of his tribe. And then, because of its fantastic and spired summit, we named the last one of the row Mount Citadel. And so they are named on the maps of today. But, alas! On the maps the stream putting into the lake from the basin between Almost-a-Dog Mountain and Mount Citadel is Virginia Creek, and its falls, Virginia Falls. And we ask: What did Virginia Smith, or Jones, or Spoopendike, or whatever her name, have to do with the exploration of the region, that one of its interesting features should be named for her?

Careful and slow though we were in following the trail down the ledge, my horse stumbled, fell, and badly bruised a leg. Some years later I learned, to my disgust, that the ledge trail had been named the Golden Stairs!

That fall, after seeing Grinnell and Gould off for their homes, Jack Monroe and I, with our wives—my little son had been placed in boarding school—moved out with our belongings and built a fine cabin at our favorite camping place, the edge of the quaking aspen grove on the west side of St. Mary River, a few hundred yards below the foot of Upper St. Mary Lake. It was the first cabin built at the lakes. In November our friends Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill and Ancient Man came out to visit and hunt with us. Every
515 morning, as was their lifelong habit, they got out of their beds, ran
827 to the river, dropped their blankets, and plunged into the icy water for a short bath. It hardened them, they said, and enabled them even in coldest winter weather to butcher the game they killed without
000 so much as frosting their bare fingers. Monroe decided that what was good for them would be good for him, too. But after his third morning bath with them he was stricken with a severe fever, be-

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

BLACKFOOT INDIAN PIPES AND PIPEMAKING

By John C. Ewers

INTRODUCTION

The smoking of tobacco pipes played roles of importance in the religious, political, and social life of the historic Blackfoot Indians. Pipe smoking was an integral part of the involved ritual of opening sacred ceremonial bundles. It was an invariable part of the act of making peace with enemy tribes. In the early years of the fur trade Blackfoot chiefs smoked with white traders when they visited their posts before the exchange of goods began. An Indian whose word was doubted might solemnly swear by the pipe that his testimony was true. It was a common custom for a man seeking a favor of another Indian of his tribe to present him with a pipe at the time of making his request. If the pipe was accepted, he knew that his request would be acted upon favorably; if it was refused, he knew that it was denied.

Blackfoot etiquette called for the tipi owner to offer a pipe to male visitors to his lodge. However, my older informants of the 1940's stated that in their youth there were marked individual differences in the interest men took in smoking for pleasure. Some men rarely smoked except during their participation in ceremonies. Others spent a great deal of their leisure time puffing on their pipes. Most boys started to smoke when they reached their middle teens and began to join war parties. No ceremony was involved in a boy's taking his first smoke. He merely followed the actions he had so often seen his elders perform.

Strong arguments were used to discourage young men from smoking too much, as are indicated by the following Blackfoot sayings:

> A young man who smokes too much has no wind.
> If you smoke too much it will hurt your eyes.
> The man who likes to smoke too much is the man who will draw the enemy when he is on a war party. The enemy will smell the smoke and be attracted to his location. Wild game will smell the smoke and will avoid the place where he is.

Girls did not smoke. But young married women learned to smoke when they attended ceremonies with their husbands. Older women usually were the only ones of their sex who smoked for pleasure.

Often, he wore a disguise that consisted of a buffalo robe and head mask; thus costumed, he would act as a decoy. At other times, he would be disguised as an antelope. 224

Traditions about some of the more renowned runners have come down among the Blackfeet. Perhaps the most skilled known to us was Red Antelope. He seems to have been an actual individual who lived probably about the time of the introduction of the horse, i.e., ca. A.D. 1760. An indication of when he lived is provided by the text of some songs that have been handed down. His spiritual powers as a runner were derived from the antelope and the falcon. His shirt and leggings were made of antelope hide and decorated with red ochre. In addition, he wore a disguise made from the head of an antelope, and he carried rattles made of antelope hooves. Red Antelope took particular care of his outfit, rolling it up with sweetgrass after use and depositing it in a secret place some distance away to avoid contamination by camp odors. Here again, we have an emphasis upon human odor-free conditions. His paraphernalia descended among members of the Small Robes band, and his rattles are said to have disappeared only recently. Some of the elements enumerated above are reminiscent of Shoshoni practices. The Blackfeet drive complex may, in fact, have been influenced by certain traits from the Great Basin. 173 224 [175] [225] [292] [237] [293] [824] [827] [171]

We can return once more to the runner we left earlier at the gathering area. The gathering area often included a lake at which bison were accustomed to drink. Back at camp, dogs had been muzzled and tied up so that they would not alarm the herd during the crucial period to follow. Sometimes, it was said, a dog was restrained by tying it to a block of wood. (Archaeologists coming across a piece of tree trunk for which they cannot account, might consider it in this context.) Dogs at that time, we must remember, were an important part of Blackfeet life, inasmuch as they were the beasts of burden. Later, of course, the horse would be introduced to displace dogs in this capacity. 224 224 231 231 492

The runner's task was to locate a herd, start it up, and put it into motion toward the drive lane. If bison were plentiful, the first part was relatively easy. If not, it might be necessary for the runner to continue for a considerable distance. Thereafter, the second 224

[p 246-A]

122 the Chief would thunder in the correct phrase. Jimmy said, after
533 a didactic interruption by his father, "Goddam! He interfered with me and now I can't get back where I'm going." The whole thing was really very relaxed and informal, though, with a lot of laughing
[522] and clowning around. At one point, Jim put a large funnel on his head in gesture of crowning himself with a dunce-cap for having goofed up. The only time that a serious note discorded the proceedings was when Paul started to sing a Cree song. The Chief got on him right away and said that he could damn well sing Blackfoot songs or not at all. So they tried to sing some Blackfoot "Crazy Dog" songs and immediately got all screwed up. "Sound like bunch drunks," Jimmy said.

122 I played back the songs, but the recorder had distorted the music
[126] something terrible. So I turned the damn thing off, and while the singers gave out with a few more selections I made a large pot of coffee. Paul and his wife both looked starved, so I heated up some bean soup too. At the table, Paul's wife took her soup spoon directly from her toothless mouth, plunged it into the sugarbowl, and stirred a heaping tablespoonful of sugar into her cup of coffee. Oh well, she sings beautifully. And I don't use sugar anyway.

I am afraid that the Chief's cold is no better. He sneezed loudly at the table, and Phillip said, with a tone of lachrymose poignancy,
[829] "In a old days when you sneezed we used to say your girl friend is thinking for you. Now-days we say you better get to that drug store and get you some medicine."

After I had driven all the guests to Paul's house, Jim and Dad and I each drank two hot toddies. It was still reasonably early, and the medicine songs had induced Dad into a story-telling mood, and as we sipped our drinks he told some medicine stories.

YELLOW WOLF VISITS THE SAND HILLS

539 This happened during the big measles [one of the several
764 epidemics of small pox which struck the Blackfoots]. A lot of
[131] Piegans died at this time, and among them was Yellow Wolf.
[164] We cared for Yellow Wolf in the same manner that we cared
[165] for the others that had passed away: we dressed him in his best clothing and placed a blanket over him and kept him for two days in his lodge. On the second night, when Yellow Wolf's relatives and friends had all arrived and were sitting around the lodge preparing for the funeral, one of the relatives suddenly said, "The blanket is moving!" Then, as everyone

462 the description of cooking and staying indoors as female duties. Small wonder that the young Blood of today strongly 183 reject Cook-Baker and Store Keeper. Further, this quotation 827 testifies to the universality of the meaningfulness of physical ability among the Blood. Both man and woman are to expect and overcome hardship to perform their socially significant tasks. This necessity was illustrated in the hardiness training mentioned by Thompson and in the jests and jibes of the tippling thief toward his wives. Schultz comments further on this aspect.

175 827 [291] [515]

> I went on several of these hunts when the weather was so cold that a buffalo hide froze stiff as it dropped away from the cut of the knife; yet the Indians skinned their quarry barehanded. . . . The Indians wore only a couple of shirts, a pair of blanket or cowskin leggings, fur cap, buffalo robe, gloves, and moccasins--no socks. Yet they never froze, nor even shivered from the cold. They attributed their indifference to exposure to the beneficial effect of their daily baths, which were always taken, even if a hole had to be cut in the ice for the purpose. And they forced their little children to accompany them, little fellows from three years of age up, dragging the unwilling ones from their beds and carrying them under their arms to the icy plunge.[53]

[856] [869]

175 826 A freezing dip in the river speaks strongly for a concern over health and vitality as does the image of dragging squalling youngsters to the bath. This concern also extends to the previously mentioned vanity and attractiveness.

> Came from the north, from the camp of our brother tribe, the Bloods, four young men to visit friends in our camp, and one of them was Low Horn, he who was nicknamed